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This resource pamphlet offers information about programs, curriculum development, and teacher education for disadvantaged children. Described are innovations in school organization and the expansion of school programs into such areas as preschools, tutoring, enrichment and guidance projects, and school community cooperation. Also noted are some of the curricular innovations which have been developed. Teacher education is discussed in terms of preservice preparation, field experience programs, and some other innovations. A brief summary of current knowledge about educating the disadvantaged is included and the need for evaluation, experimentation, and special attention for certain areas is stated. (NH)

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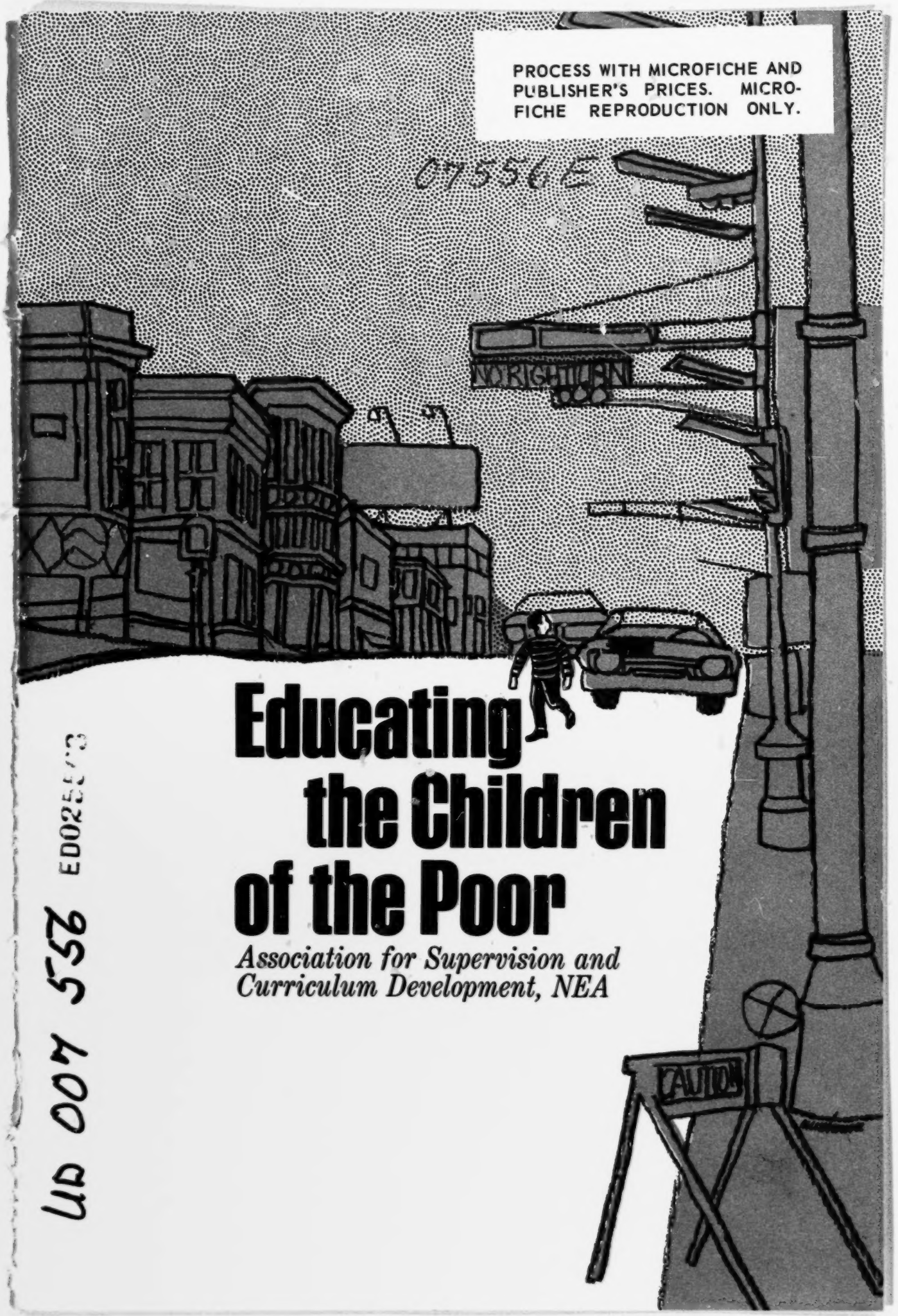

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Educating the Children of the Poor

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Preface

Educating the Children of the Poor is as compact a run-down of programs, curriculum development, and teacher education programs as I have seen.

I suspect the title is as debatable as the various labels applied to the "have-nots," listed in the opening statement, for all tend to stereotype children and their families. Regardless of labels, what has become the number one problem of our times is the education of millions of youngsters whose life style constitutes deprivation in one or more forms, which inhibits, blights, or warps full fruition of self, of intellect, and of emotions.

One of the real assets of this booklet is the section, "These Things We Have Learned." Here we have some important hunches and clues, some exploded myths. For those who believe a child is unteachable we have a built-in guarantee that he will not learn. This booklet has rendered a real service in "de-stereotyping" the child of poverty, his school, and his curriculum. "The Task Ahead" defines real problems for which real solutions must be found. The problems are urgent and the stakes are high. ASCD, more than most professional organizations, carries the responsibility for leadership in discovering new strategies to meet a situation of near-crisis dimensions. *Educating the Children of the Poor* is a good beginning.

June 1968

MURIEL CROSBY
President, 1968-69
Association for Supervision
and Curriculum Development

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Introduction

TODAY most of us, one way or another, are involved in efforts to do a better job of educating the children of the poor. Perhaps we are so busy with this great social task that we do not always take the time to analyze or assess what we are doing.

So it is that we may find the following statement useful in providing first of all a way to classify and thus clarify the range of our activities and, second, a framework for reflecting on what is likely to be most worth doing.

The task force members have responded to the request of the ASCD Elementary Education Council to give us something more than merely a report of what is going on. That report is here; it would be hard to think where one could go to get a better informed account of the status of programs and projects for the children of disadvantaged backgrounds. Yet nearly half this booklet is devoted to a critical look at the deficits in the present efforts and to a careful spelling out of needs for reconceptualization and research.

The members of the ASCD Elementary Education Council wish to express their thanks to the task force for the preparation of this masterly resource paper. It takes its place worthily as one in a series of booklets commissioned to provide perspective on the changing curriculum scene.

June 1968

ALEXANDER FRAZIER, *Chairman*
ASCD Elementary Education Council

Point of View

EQUAL educational opportunity for all children is an ideal with which few Americans would quarrel. Even fewer would have any notion of what this ideal would mean in practice. Periodically, however, we find that there are sizable groups for whom opportunities are indeed not equal. Most recently we have discovered the children of the poor. All of society has, of necessity, become concerned about the problems of poverty, and the schools have been a frequent focus of that concern. Programs and publications have increased over the past five years from a mere trickle to a mighty flood, but the struggle to provide a relevant education for the children of the slums is far from over.

We even have great difficulty in trying to decide what terms to use in describing the population with which we are concerned. We speak of the *culturally deprived, socially disadvantaged, inner-city child, slum dweller, minority group member, ghetto youth, educationally deficient, immigrant, under-educated,* and *under-achiever.* Yet in spite of the multiplicity of terms we have a tendency to think of our lower class citizenry as though it were one huge, homogeneous blob. Differences among sub-groups in this population are largely ignored. Social class is confused with caste; the impoverished Negroes are lumped together with southern mountaineers, Puerto Rican immigrants, and native white slum-dwellers, as if their life styles and educational problems were all of a kind. Unless we begin to sort out some intra-class differences, our educational treatment will resemble buckshot blasts in the dark.

Not only have we failed to identify clearly the composition and characteristics of the group, but we have had equal difficulty in deciding what we should do about them, once identified. Too often, liberal-minded people tend to draw wishful inferences about

the nature and nurture of the underprivileged from the mere snatches of data that now exist. Diagnoses of or cures for what ails these groups are introduced as scientifically viable principally because the sentiment underlying such proposals is morally compelling. One example will suffice: We sometimes make a near-fetish of the folkways of lower-class people on the grounds that these habits are basic to good mental health. Some of us think that slum families raise their children in a quaintly primitive way, uncomplicated, uninhibiting, and that our failure to appreciate the "cultural positives" of this milieu is a sign of middle-class snobbishness. This kind of glamorization tends to minimize the desperate conditions that often prevail in the slum environment. These people do not grow into healthier, happier citizens, even if some think they come closest to resembling Rousseau's "natural man."

At the other extreme are the missionary types who go down to the slums preaching the virtues of thrift, hard work, and grammatically correct speech as the means to salvation—or escape from the ghetto. Not the least of this group are individuals, many of them teachers in slum schools, who have themselves recently left the conditions they decry and who therefore believe that there is no excuse for others not showing the same enterprise and fortitude. This approach, too, has a long history of failure in solving the problems that stem from poverty and unemployment—segregation, discrimination, and lack of equal opportunity in housing and employment as well as education.

Yet even while the controversy swirls around them, the schools must deal with the tremendously diverse group of children who come to them from the urban slums. It is this population which has the most severe scholastic retardation, the highest drop-out rate, the most intense behavioral problems, and the least participation in continuing higher education. It is evident from various analyses that the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" and between the "less equal" and the "more equal" has been broadening in our affluent society. By retaining larger numbers of students for longer years, the school has increased the heterogeneity of its population, and consequently learning disabilities and adjustment problems have mushroomed. In the war on poverty and in the civil rights struggle, the role of education has become central—both *de jure* through federal legislation and *de facto* as the schools have been asked (perhaps forced) to reaffirm their traditional function of providing equal and appropriate educational opportunities for all children and youth. How, then, are the schools responding?

Types of Programs

ONE way of assessing the response is to survey the programs which are presently in operation. These programs reveal adaptations, modifications, and innovations in curriculum; the addition of personnel; the scheduling of more field trips or assembly programs. Parent involvement is spurred, organizational arrangements are changed, and new ways are found for working with non-school agencies. Such program modifications seem to be divided into a number of distinctive types, not mutually exclusive, but characterized in each case by a major effort to provide appropriate educational opportunities for disadvantaged children.

Organizational Provisions

It has been said that educators typically respond to the needs of a particular student population by setting up a special class. While this may be an unfair generalization, there is no doubt that organizational modifications are often the first, and the least difficult, changes made in response to newly identified problems.

Organizational innovations exist in a bewildering variety throughout the nation; but two major groups, or categories, may be identified.

Grouping of students. Revised groupings have been employed both to bring together students with common needs and problems and to provide for contacts among students of differing abilities, backgrounds, and ethnic groups. Tracking, or so-called homogeneous grouping, has often been considered a means of breaking the one year-one grade lockstep which has been so damaging to disadvantaged children. Where special grouping is combined with

appropriate curriculum modifications and specialized staff resources, it can offer many advantages. The Orientation Classes for Inmigrant and Transient Children which were a part of the Milwaukee Great Cities Project illustrate the advantages of a grouping which provides for intensive remedial work and individualized instruction (1).

The problems of grouping children on the basis of ability have included the difficulty of providing for easy movement from one level or group to another, the inflexibility of curriculum and teaching methods which prevented real adaptation for different levels, and perhaps most important, the increased segregation of disadvantaged children. For this reason various plans which involve heterogeneous grouping, nongraded or multi-level class groups, and other types of flexible groupings have been instituted. Even in cities such as New York, where homogeneous grouping has long been the general practice, heterogeneous grouping has become a feature of the new More Effective Schools program. Other schools, sometimes in response to pressure from minority group parents, have abandoned ability grouping at the primary level.

The common aim of these organizational arrangements is to provide for the special needs of the disadvantaged child. As a further means of achieving this end, new patterns of staff utilization have been introduced.

Staff utilization patterns. Many of the programs for the disadvantaged require additional staff, both professional and nonprofessional. Others make use of "special service personnel" to augment regular faculty positions and may include changes in staff utilization patterns. Administrators are revising staff deployment to spur more opportunities for much needed one-to-one relationships between pupil and teacher. Schools are finding new ways of using professionals and better ways of involving nonprofessionals.

Team teaching is described as the "keystone" of the Pittsburgh program.

> . . . The flexibility of mind and operation which characterizes team teaching has proved to be especially effective in encouraging teachers to view the educational problems of disadvantaged children with a new, wider, and more sensitive vision. . . . In addition to the teachers, each team has a leader who receives a salary differential of approximately 10 percent, a paid team mother who relieves the team of most of its non-instructional responsibilities, and a student intern who assists in the teaching of small and average sized groups of students (2).

Additional personnel have been necessary for almost all special

projects. Class size has been reduced by the employment of more teachers. Additional psychologists, school social workers, guidance counselors, speech therapists, and administrative personnel have been secured. A community agent or community coordinator may occupy a new position which includes working with parents and cooperating with other community agencies and institutions. Teacher aides of various kinds and clerical assistants, as well as volunteers and student interns, are also an integral part of some programs.

The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, NEA, has made the preparation and use of paraprofessionals a major focus of its Year of the Non-Conference. The Office of Economic Opportunity has sponsored a study of role development, training, and institutionalization of auxiliary personnel in school systems (3).

Gordon and Wilkerson report few solid guidelines to staffing programs for the disadvantaged but list several promising trends:

1. The selection of teachers who have good basic backgrounds in academic disciplines, combined with particularly good instructional skills, is emphasized
2. The use of indigenous nonprofessionals as teacher aides is increasingly stressed
3. In addition to strength, quantity of staff is also stressed
4. Considerable emphasis in some programs is being given to the use of male models
5. A wide variety of supporting staff are being used (4).

The development of a teaching staff with a variety of roles and functions to work with pupils in disadvantaged areas requires extensive changes not only in staff deployment procedures of the schools themselves but also in the programs of preparation for professionals and nonprofessionals.

Extended School Programs

Another widely used means of providing improved educational opportunities for disadvantaged children is the extension of school services and the addition of services not previously provided. This strategy has the advantage of not interfering with the established practice of the school program while recognizing the special needs of all or part of the pupil population.

Among the types of programs most widely developed in this

area are those which provide for children below the usual age of school entrance, tutoring sessions outside of school hours, additional guidance and enrichment experiences, and extended educational activities through cooperation with community agencies and organizations.

Preschool programs. Preschool and early childhood programs are basically compensatory, with the aim of overcoming specific experiential and cognitive deficits. The disadvantaged child's lack of adequate skill readiness is well documented. At the time he enters first grade, he is already handicapped by a home environment that fails to provide him with the strong achievement drive, the fund of experiences, and the basic cognitive skills he needs to compete successfully with children from better neighborhoods. This readiness deficit turns into academic failure from the day formal schooling is begun, and the retardation gap becomes wider and wider as the child grows older. In effect, the longer the disadvantaged pupil attends school, the more difficult it is for him to measure up to expectations.

In order to lessen early learning handicaps among young school children in depressed areas, programs such as Operation Head Start have intensified readiness experiences at the preschool level. Rapidly increasing numbers of disadvantaged children are being recruited for kindergarten and prekindergarten programs. To a great extent the emphasis on general child care in these preschool classes is giving way to the planning of more systematic skill development experiences. Experimenters are attempting to determine the specific cognitive skills necessary for eventual success in a highly verbal curriculum—skills that many socially disadvantaged children lack—and are designing materials and instructional strategies that might compensate for the deficits. The well-known work of Martin Deutsch and associates suggests some promising ways of facilitating mental development (5).

The Early School Admission Project in Baltimore, a three-year project, has reported that longitudinal and evaluative studies "are being carried out to determine the extent to which the Project enables the children to make a better start in the regular school program and to achieve throughout their school experience" (6). For example, the effects of the Project on selected cognitive factors and the development of an activity log for recording adequate descriptive data concerning the instructional program are being investigated by staff members of the Institute of Child Study, University of Maryland.

The Pilot Kindergarten Project in Racine, Wisconsin, is being developed in the conviction that formalized identification procedures are necessary and that curriculum development needs to be based on some logically consistent rationale. The directors of the project have identified skills and understandings in four areas of cultural deprivation which are assumed to be vital to school success, and have set up curriculum objectives for the development of the specific skills identified (7).

The availability of federal support for early childhood programs and the rapid expansion of this new field have resulted in great variation in the quality of the programs developed. A period of evaluation, aimed at producing more carefully designed and implemented programs, is now beginning in many parts of the country.

Tutoring programs. Another means of providing for additional educational opportunities for disadvantaged children is through individual and small-group tutoring sessions with professionals, paraprofessionals, and volunteers of many kinds. Such programs usually have two major purposes—the enhancement of the individual's self-concept and personal remedial assistance. Again, the programs in this group are exceedingly diverse in organization, procedures, and personnel.

Some programs, such as that in the small isolated community of Ken Gar in Montgomery County, Maryland, were initiated by volunteers. The Ken Gar program, now taken over by the county board of education, provides supervision for a group of one hundred college-educated volunteers who hold regular study sessions in the children's homes, take children on trips, make library reading materials available, and provide transportation to integrated activities such as scout programs and dancing and music lessons (8).

In some cities, tutoring programs are sponsored largely by community agencies, with the school identifying the children who need help and setting up the schedules. The programs have operated with the sanction of the schools and yet have remained relatively independent of them. In others, the tutorial program is sponsored by the school system, with the teachers who staff the after-school study centers recruited, supervised, and paid by the board of education.

All of these programs, including those organized by college or community groups with little or no professional assistance or supervision, have served well the purpose of providing the individual child with adult companionship and an increasing sense of worth and acceptance. Progress in academic achievement has been great-

est, however, where individual attention and recognition have been combined with a carefully planned and supervised program of skill development organized by professional personnel.

Enrichment and guidance projects. Enrichment and guidance projects are typically an aspect of larger programs designed to overcome cultural impoverishment, enhance motivation, and widen the horizons of pupils from depressed areas. The widely reported Demonstration Guidance Program in New York City had a strong emphasis on trips, cultural experiences, and heightened motivation (9).

The Madison Area Project in Syracuse, New York, includes systematically planned activities to promote mental health and personality development. The mental health specialists in the project set up individual programs for children who have emotional problems that interfere with learning. These specialists also conduct in-service education programs for teachers and act as leaders of group guidance classes. These are freewheeling, "anything goes" sessions attended once each week by every pupil.

Other aspects of the Madison Area Project provide an ongoing emphasis on personality development—helping youngsters to see themselves as worthy people, valuable to society. Floor-to-ceiling bulletin boards are used to display student work, photographs of students in action, and inspirational material about successful people. Closed circuit television is also used as an instructional tool to promote poise and ego development (10).

Camping experiences are a part of the Detroit Great Cities Project. A camping program can open up an entirely new dimension of experience to a city child and may provide a unique opportunity for teachers and pupils to know and understand each other. Many bus trips to industrial plants, business houses, and cultural centers are also used to enrich and expand children's experiences (11).

Provisions for added guidance services are characteristic of many programs. Emphasis is on both prevention of difficulties and provisions for treatment. Junior guidance classes provide an educational-clinical resource for socially and emotionally disturbed children. Small classes, the services of social workers, counselors and psychiatrists, and the provision of specially trained teachers have aided many children. Other programs, particularly those for preschool children, have included clinical facilities for both parents and children. The workers in these programs have found that adults, when properly approached, will respond to opportunities for self-help and improvement.

Cooperative school and community programs. A fourth group of projects has attempted to deal with a larger portion of the child's life by two means—lengthening the school day and year and extending the curriculum activities into the neighborhood and community. Summer Head Start programs and the increasing number of summer school programs planned for remedial help or enrichment or both are evidence of this trend. There are also various after-school and weekend projects.

In Washington, D. C., mothers and young children attend a Saturday School where children are prepared for kindergarten and mothers for continuing such preparation during the week (12). In Rochester, New York, a walking teacher has developed many informal interracial groups in homes, playgrounds, laundromats, churches, and other natural locations in city neighborhoods (13).

At Mobilization for Youth, a delinquency control project on New York's Lower East Side, two programs make use of nonprofessional teachers trained and supervised by school personnel. The Homework Helper Program is designed to serve two populations—high school youth and elementary school pupils. The high school students provide after-school tutorial help to elementary school children under the training and supervision of master teachers. The program enables adolescents to engage in highly purposeful, constructive activity on behalf of children who can benefit from the extra attention. It offers individual assistance to elementary school pupils in need of help with basic skills, especially reading, and brings them into association with useful adolescent models who might enhance their aspirations for success at school. At the same time, it is designed to encourage and help underprivileged high school students to remain in school by paying them for their services, motivating them toward improved academic achievement, and providing them with an experience which might even lead to the choice of teaching as a career. An evaluation of the program has shown that children who were tutored four hours a week made significantly greater gains in reading than a matched group who did not receive any tutoring.

Another Mobilization for Youth program is called Supplementary Teaching Assistance in Reading (STAR). The program is designed to provide parents in a depressed area with the tools and techniques to tutor their children in reading at home. Trained reading specialists, with considerable experience in offering direct service to children, have developed the strategies for training parents to assume this responsibility. Yet, like the Homework Helper Pro-

gram, the potential success of this kind of out-of-school service depends largely on nonprofessionals. These are housewives, indigenous to the community, who are trained to go into the home to assist parents in helping their children. The success of the program banks heavily on the hypothesis that nonprofessionals can compensate in devotion and enthusiasm for what they lack in teaching skill (14).

The extension of school programs through cooperation with community agencies is also practiced in some communities. The three-year experimental project on schools in changing neighborhoods in Wilmington, Delaware, involved widespread cooperation of schools and community agencies. Approximately thirty-five community agencies and organizations worked with the schools in a wide variety of activities for the benefit of disadvantaged children (15).

Programs for extending educational opportunities beyond the boundaries of the school and into the lives of the underprivileged in their homes, their places of work, their houses of worship, and their centers of social activities are still in a primitive stage. Expansion of such programs depends upon the willingness of professional educators to work with nonprofessionals and train them to do the special job that the school has neither the time nor the manpower to do. It involves redesigning school services so that they may better adapt to the realities of education in a disadvantaged area.

Curriculum Developments

Extension of school services and organizational modifications can serve important functions in improving the educational opportunities of disadvantaged pupils. Yet, whatever the size of the class, however it is organized, and whenever the learning activities are scheduled, it is obviously the curriculum—content, methods, resources, learning environment—which must be chiefly depended upon to bring about desired educational changes.

Curricular programs developed for disadvantaged children are often known as compensatory programs, designed "to compensate for those environmental deficits in society and in the school which retard and limit the educational progress of the children of the poor" (16). While the objectives in terms of the broad areas of the cognitive, affective, vocational, and political aspects of education are those generally accepted for all children, the content, organization, and methods of achieving them require special definition and development.

Gordon and Wilkerson have summarized some of the characteristics of existing compensatory educational programs as follows:

> . . . the emphasis in compensatory educational programs has been not merely on providing some kind of education to the disadvantaged, but on developing a curriculum which is pertinent to the real life situation of the children involved, and which takes advantage of the tendency noted particularly among the disadvantaged, but characteristic of many children, to do rather than to be told. . . . This general emphasis on approaches to learning that require the active physical participation of the children is a part of many compensatory programs. Another emphasis is on multiple-level learning materials. Although the eventual goal of these programs is to raise the academic achievement of all the children, materials must be provided within the scope of their present ability. Consequently, one effort in this direction has been to provide multilevel materials which allow for extensive individual differences even within a given classroom. In order to accomplish this, many projects have had to devise a good deal of original teaching material to suit the needs of their particular disadvantaged population. The aim, and the end product of much of the curricular alteration, has been to see the curriculum as a continuous vertical learning sequence rather than a series of grades, each with a separate and isolated content (17).

Curriculum content. New developments in curriculum content may be classified as related to overcoming experiential and cognitive deficits, to specific skill and subject areas, and to the urban world of which the child is a part. The programs of some of the early childhood projects illustrate the first classification. Deutsch describes an enrichment curriculum which was developed by the Institute for Developmental Studies:

> We have emphasized the role of specific social attributes and experiences in the development of language and verbal behavior, of concept formation and organization, of visual and auditory discrimination, of general environmental orientation, and of all of this to school performance (18).

At the University of Illinois, Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann have designed instructional procedures which are carefully planned to achieve specific learning objectives. Of this program, Bereiter says:

> . . . We have, for instance, tried to convert the general goal of improving language into a series of specific concepts and language operations to be taught. These were arrived at in the same way that curriculum planners go about determining the content of science and mathematics courses—not by empirical means but by a consideration of what concepts and skills are necessary or most powerful in relation to future tasks (19).

In the skill and subject areas there is considerable emphasis on "reading improvement programs." There is a proliferation of programs varying in content and organization as well as the specific

activities involved, all dealing with teaching children basic reading skills. These reading programs take many forms, have varied purposes, and use different content. The Chandler Language Experience Readers, the City Schools Reading Program (Detroit's Jimmy Series), and the Bank Street-Macmillan Urban Readers are illustrative of reading series specifically designed for the urban child.

Although few special programs have been published for other areas of the curriculum, Loretan and Umans have noted the appropriateness of recent curriculum programs for the education of the disadvantaged child. They report that when the new materials were tried in the inner city, the developers found "what they expected. These youngsters did not, of course, move as fast or as far as the gifted children for whom the curricula were developed, but they did become interested, stimulated, and intellectually restless" (20).

Among the other characteristics of new programs which Loretan and Umans cite as being particularly adapted to providing stimulating content for the disadvantaged child, is that of providing many concrete experiences:

> In the newer curricula, concrete experiences encourage students to form generalizations and concepts that in turn become the tools of learning. Children work with such realia as Cuisenaire rods, minerals, and artifacts. They feel and count and group and experience real things, and learn about other things from the teacher or a textbook; they work with authentic materials. From their many experiences with actual materials and processes they draw generalizations which we refer to as abstractions. The abstractions are now understood because they are internalized. The children are then presented with new experiences which encourage them to apply their generalizations to new situations. The use of concrete experiences at this level makes it possible for them to evolve basic concepts that can be reconstructed and used to meet other problems (21).

In each of the basic subject areas, curriculum efforts must center on distilling the essential concepts, drills, and understandings and organizing these for instruction and learning for pupils whose motivation and orientation are not school centered. Making the content simpler—watering it down—has not contributed to upgrading achievement nor has it resulted in any great involvement in school learning.

Finally, there is an instructional content which derives from the urban world of today with its vast cultural resources as well as its complex problems. This is sometimes viewed as the subject matter of social studies—intergroup relations, citizenship education, or some variation thereof. In what ways should the complex, often

controversial, issues and problems of urban living serve as content for social learnings? These questions do not suggest a simple reorganization of the handling of controversial issues in the classroom as much as a totally new view of the realities of urban sociopolitical life as they impinge on school curriculum. While one can have no illusions about the complexity of selecting and handling content dealing with power relations in communities, to ignore completely the stresses and strains that are part of America's large cities and metropolitan areas generally is to perpetuate the feeling among students that school is divorced from reality.

A three-year project in Wilmington, Delaware, focused directly on human relations in an effort to help children and their families comprehend and deal more effectively with changing neighborhoods, transiency, desegregation, flight to the suburbs, and changing economic forces. The focus of curriculum building was on developing human relations sensitivity, skills, insights, and information. Units relating school instruction to life needs and experience were built for specific classes. Such education was viewed as being at the center of the school's program (22).

Methods and materials. It is, of course, impossible to separate classroom procedures and materials from the content of curriculum and the organizational structures which are developed to provide for carrying out those procedures. Previous sections of this report have referred to cultural enrichment experiences designed to introduce the child to the cultural mainstream of American life. The New York City Higher Horizons program has furnished a model for other programs in large cities in the United States. The measure of success of such programs has been closely related to the extent to which the opportunities for experiences were carefully chosen and used as an integral part of the school program and the combination of such experiences with other aspects of a total program of academic and social compensation.

Procedures for increasing the motivation and enhancing the self-concept of disadvantaged children have been a part of most curriculum programs, but in the Banneker District of St. Louis the school, the parents, and the community worked together in what was primarily a motivational program designed to improve achievement through attitude change on the part of pupils. Parents helped by providing space and quiet for the children to do their homework, and the teachers were encouraged to treat all children as though they were able to achieve. The significant academic gains of the pupils during the first years of the project were a demonstration

of the effectiveness of massive community action and of the power of a dedicated and inspiring leader, Samuel Shepard, Jr. (23).

Limited verbal facility and lack of flexibility in language patterns among the disadvantaged have resulted in many programs designed to encourage children to communicate orally in standard English. Starting with early childhood programs and going throughout the elementary school, the emphasis has been on a low teacher-pupil ratio which allows for more individual conversation and small group discussion as an important means of improving communication. Role playing, dramatics, and tape recordings are also used. The Willow Manor Oral Language Project in Oakland, California, illustrates a planned program which uses many different means of encouraging language usage:

> Teachers were encouraged to examine the curriculum for situations that might require speech from the children, regardless of the specific subject matter involved. Storytelling, dramatics, and singing were extensively used. Special listening tapes were developed to give children more opportunity to hear speech used well (24).

The greatest potential assistance in helping disadvantaged children to use standard English effectively has come through the adaptation of the methods developed for teaching English as a second language. Virginia Allen has summarized the procedures and the attitudes of teaching using this approach:

> Fortunately, more and more teachers are coming to realize that attitudes, approaches, and procedures germane to the teaching of foreign language have relevance to the teaching of standard English as a second dialect. More and more teachers are defining the target language as "the kind of English habitually spoken by most of the educated members of the American speech community." Guided by this definition, classes for non-standard speakers are concentrating upon language usages which indisputably characterize "the language of educated ease." Teachers are thus freeing class time for practice upon those critical features of the target dialect by passing lightly over esoteric distinctions that carry little or no weight outside some grammar textbooks.
>
> In their classrooms, these teachers guard against treating the students' home dialect as something faulty, flawed, and inferior. They are willing to grant that the home dialect may even be the "right" one for the student to use in some interpersonal relationships deeply important to him. At the same time, they help their students achieve fluency in standard English by patiently guiding the class through practice exercises based on second-language teaching techniques, but adapted to second-dialect purposes with artistry and tact (25).

Individualized instruction is especially needed in working with the disadvantaged child and is becoming increasingly possible through the use of programmed instruction, self-instructional materials, and computer-based systems. An increasing number of pro-

grammed materials are becoming available in many of the subject matter areas and can provide opportunities for the child to work at his own pace, with little chance of error and with immediate feedback concerning his own success. For older children the mechanical nature of some of the machines used to present the programs may make more acceptable the neccessarily rudimentary nature of the learning tasks involved.

The use of programmed and self-instructional materials must certainly be combined with a great deal of individual attention and reinforcement from the teacher. The balance between their use and the involvement of the teacher is not yet clearly defined and is probably different for each child or for any one child at different times. Nowhere in the complex and virtually unexplored field of teaching techniques and materials for use with the disadvantaged is there greater need for further experimentation and evaluation.

After reviewing a broad spectrum of practices and materials, Miriam Goldberg has stated a number of propositions which characterize approaches considered relatively successful with disadvantaged children:

1. Each pupil's status in each learning area has to be ascertained. Teaching must begin where the pupil is, regardless of grade level-age differential, and materials must be appropriate to his present level. No assumptions can be made about the child's prior knowledge derived from home or neighborhood experiences.

2. Each pupil merits respect as a person, appreciation of his efforts, and understanding of his problems. The teacher must not show by word, look, or gesture that the child's inability to perform adequately or his lack of comprehension of even the most rudimentary concepts is shocking or disturbing.

3. All procedures need to be paced in accordance with the pupil's speed of learning. No assumptions should be made that the child has grasped what has been taught until he is able to demonstrate his grasp over and over again in a variety of contexts.

4. The learning situation needs to have a high degree of structure and consistency so that the child knows what is expected of him at all times and is neither confused nor tempted to test the limits through inappropriate behavior.

5. The learning situation should provide a maximum of positive reinforcement and a minimum of negative reinforcement. Self-teaching materials as well as the teacher should confront the learner with as few tests as possible in which there is a high probability of error.

6. The classroom as well as the after-school learning activities should provide as much one-to-one, teacher-pupil learning contact as possible.

7. Materials should be related to the world of the learner but not limited to his immediate environment. Stories about cowboys and rockets may prove

more exciting and thus a better learning medium than those about the local firehouse and the sanitation truck.

8. One additional proposition needs to be stated, derived not from evidence but from the basic values underlying education in a democracy: although the school should start where the learner is, its responsibility is to enable him to move as far as he can go which is often much further than he himself regards as his limit (26).

Total program. Over and over we are told that fewer disadvantaged youngsters would leave school if it provided a "more satisfying and more meaningful experience." The dimensions of such programs are seldom detailed. All too frequently, programs take a patchwork approach to the problem rather than a total, integrated approach. Scheduling some remedial services, an additional guidance counselor, or a taste of work experience and expecting that such modifications will do the job is unrealistic. Content, methods, and materials must be integrated in a design which focuses sharply on the role and function of the school in an urbanized and technological society.

Beyond this, however, there is an intangible content which cannot be ignored, because it is significant in ego-development, in motivation, in self-image. This is what is learned from the classroom climate and the teacher as an individual. How to develop a climate in which teachers genuinely believe in the potential ability of disadvantaged children, are committed to its nurture, and convey this respect through their relationships with pupils and parents is part and parcel of the curriculum problem. Those writers who observed that the child "learns what he lives" were not off-target. What the teacher expects or does not expect and how the disadvantaged student perceives these expectations can influence significantly the child's aspiration level and involvement in the educational process.

Teacher Education Programs

Throughout every description of a program for the education of disadvantaged children runs one continuous theme—the importance of the teacher. Along with the recognition of the great need for teachers with the knowledge, experience, and attitudes required for working with the alienated children of the slums is an increasing concern that such teachers are not only not available in any considerable numbers but that we know very little about how to help

the teachers we have to acquire the needed competencies. Most of the programs of preservice and in-service education of teachers are still largely piecemeal attempts to provide some information concerning the life styles and growth patterns of children from depressed areas and to make possible some firsthand experience in working with such children. Program modification includes changes in course offerings, in direct experiences, and in organization and structure.

College courses. In Project Aware, a nation-wide research project to assess the preparation of school personnel for working with disadvantaged children and youth, it was found that, of 122 colleges and universities which incorporated teacher education or work with the disadvantaged in their curriculum, over 60 percent reported accomplishing this goal through courses. In some cases, new courses were added—urban sociology, educational sociology, anthropology, community psychology, and others intended to give background. In others, existing courses were modified—methods of teaching in urban schools, teaching reading to the disadvantaged, curriculum and organization in depressed area schools and so on. Some colleges added units or special emphasis in present courses to provide help with diagnostic and remedial procedures, methods and materials for individualizing instruction, strategies of classroom control, and personal and material resources (27).

Often the specialized methods courses are taught by former elementary school teachers or supervisors from the local school system and may be oriented almost exclusively to a series of prescriptive admonitions concerning how to survive and conform to regulations in a particular location or school system. Restricting as this may be, it is infinitely preferable to a course taught by an instructor who has no experience in or knowledge of the problems of teaching in disadvantaged areas and who retreats to pious platitudes or irrelevant generalizations in attempting to deal with a content of which he is essentially ignorant.

One somewhat indirect influence on the modification of course content comes from the increase in the amount of experience required in some programs of preparation and the addition of background courses in anthropology and sociology. Because of the limitations of the time available within a typical four-year program of preservice preparation, methods and curriculum courses may have to be given a situational approach, combined, integrated, or related to clinical experience by means of seminars. If this streamlining

is done with careful consideration of the essential elements and the application of what is known about the task of the teacher in the urban setting, the courses may be improved. If, as often happens, the change results only in the attempt to do all that was done in the previous courses in less time and therefore more superficially, improvement will be unlikely.

Direct experiences. A second group of modifications is much more extensive and much more varied. It includes the provision of direct experiences intended to provide firsthand contacts for preservice and in-service teachers of the disadvantaged. These experiences are expected to develop skill in performing the tasks involved and to develop a positive attitude. To promote an understanding of the culture of the poor and especially of minority groups, many prospective teachers are required to spend some time becoming acquainted with community agencies and institutions.

Visits to community centers or settlement houses, work as a volunteer for several hours a week or full-time during a summer, and participation in after-school recreation programs or poverty and community action programs of various sorts may be included. The range is wide; some programs provide no more than a few visits and a lecture or two by resource people, while others mandate a full semester or more of responsible participation in an out-of-school agency in a depressed area.

A second kind of experience relates especially to an orientation to the teacher's role and includes experience as a tutor, as a teacher assistant, or as an instructional aide in a slum school. Observation and participation experiences, traditionally required as a prelude to student teaching, are often planned to give firsthand experience in depressed area schools.

The Urban Education Program at Syracuse University is a carefully planned fifth-year program supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation. A description of the activities of the first summer session illustrates a comprehensive program for induction of students into the role of the teacher in a slum area:

> During the first, or orientation, summer session students are placed immediately in classroom situations in the Croton Summer Demonstration School, which is organized and operated by the Program. The Demonstration School is housed in the Croton Elementary School, a neighborhood school that is located in and serves the predominantly Negro slum area of the city of Syracuse. The Program students spend each morning during that first summer in their assigned classroom under the guidance of selected, experienced teachers who compose the Demonstration School faculty. Here the students observe and experience directly the kinds of pupils and instructional problems

they will encounter as interns in their classrooms during the regular school year that follows. This summer experience also helps the students to become familiar with "what is" in terms of the curriculum, methods, and rules and regulations of the city schools (28).

Student teaching experiences are commonly provided in disadvantaged urban areas for students who plan to teach in city schools. Some programs schedule student teaching in both urban and suburban schools to provide the student with a greater variety of experience. Internships, with or without previous student teaching, are often provided. In some programs the student spends a half day in a school as a paid intern and a half day in classes at the university. Two students may thus be employed to carry the load of a regular teacher in the school, and additional supervision from the school or the university or both is usually provided.

A new program, being instituted by Harry Rivlin at Fordham University, includes a semester of volunteer work as a community service aide and a semester of paid service as a school aide during the student's junior year. In the senior year, the student will be assigned for three hours a day for a full year to a specially selected classroom teacher as an assistant teacher. He will perform various clerical tasks and assume increasing responsibility for teaching individual pupils, small groups, and the whole class. For this service, he will receive 25 percent of the annual salary of a beginning teacher. During the fifth year, the teacher education student will be appointed an intern and will be assigned full-time to a school. He will carry only half of the load of a regular teacher, however, and will receive 50 percent of the regular teacher's salary. This program of direct experience is combined with the development of teacher education centers as bases for the pre-tenure education of the beginning teacher and a program of continuing education through the first two or three years of the new teacher's career (29).

Programs such as this, especially when combined with integrating seminars and coordinate course work, represent real attempts to bring preparation nearer to reality. They also provide an opportunity for the beginning teacher to achieve professional stature as a continuing student of teaching in urban schools.

Program organization and structure. Numerous types of program innovations which have particular relevance for the preparation of teachers for urban schools have been made during the past few years. While far from comprehensive and definitely not completely new, such changes have contributed to programs of teacher education in significant ways.

Seminars have come increasingly to be used to bring together clinical experiences and the knowledge component of teacher education programs, to promote an analysis of teaching, to plan programs, and to develop rationale for teaching procedures. The provision for seminar experiences during the first years of teaching has been particularly effective in helping the beginning teacher to gain understanding of and perspective on his experiences while receiving support for continued study and improvement of practice.

NDEA Institutes have become an important means of in-service education for teachers of disadvantaged youngsters. The directors of the sixty-one institutes which were evaluated by Project Aware reported as key objectives both the understanding of the life conditions of disadvantaged children and the development of instructional skills, techniques, and materials, The evidence seemed to indicate, however, that a great deal more emphasis was actually placed on the development of new insights and that there was relatively less attention given to instructional procedures. This was reflected both in the reports of the directors and in the comments of the participants and probably indicates the state of presently available knowledge in the field (30).

A third development in teacher education programs which holds promise for the preparation of teachers for schools in depressed areas is the increased school-college cooperation in planning and supervising programs of preparation. The Subcommittee on School-College Relationships in Teacher Education of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education has prepared two comprehensive reports of promising practices which indicate increased activity concerning, if not solutions of, the problems of partnership which have been so long discussed and so little studied.

The Campus School Program in New York City and the school-college-community councils in the teacher education centers at Wayne State University, Detroit, are examples of existing programs of cooperation. Newark, New Jersey, and Los Angeles, California, have instituted preservice programs of preparation for teachers in urban schools which involve cooperative efforts of the city schools and local teacher-preparing institutions. Student interns are also used as part of the team teaching programs in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (31).

Perhaps the newest development in teacher education is the appearance of programs for preparing auxiliary personnel for work in schools and for helping teachers to learn to work effectively with such personnel. During the summer of 1966, eleven demonstration

training programs provided opportunities for professionals and nonprofessionals to study and work together to increase the effectiveness of auxiliary personnel in various school situations. The importance of the new group of paraprofessionals in the schools cannot be overestimated. The potential for improved service to children, and particularly to depressed area children, when the auxiliary personnel are selected from their own community is unlimited. Equally great, however, is the potential for difficulties which may arise if roles are not carefully defined and training programs developed. A report by Bank Street College of Education has provided a description of the programs and suggested some guidelines for the future (32).

The need for teachers with the necessary skills, understandings, and commitment is very great and is incompletely and inadequately met by present programs. More effective teacher preparation is without doubt the most important element in any comprehensive effort to improve the education of the children of the urban poor.

These Things We Have Learned

A CONSIDERATION of the scope and variety of present programs indicates that some lessons have been learned—that some mistakes need not be repeated in future planning. Several of these learnings are particularly important as a background for assessing the adequacy of current programs for the disadvantaged.[1]

1. If substantial breakthroughs on the problem of programs for the disadvantaged are to be made, ethnic stereotypes must be abandoned. More creatively than in the past, educators must exploit the more than thirty-year-old insights into such problems as drop-out prevention, middle-class orientation of schools, inadequate and inappropriate curriculum, and mediocre teachers. It is not necessary to start from scratch. There is a considerable body of research and experience to interpret and apply to the local setting.

2. Simply doing "more of the same but harder" will scarcely dent the problem. New concepts of the total educational program are demanded. Such rethinking may impel us to new policies, different arrangements of time and organization, more effective deployment of professional staff, an extended role for the school in the community, and a reshaped curriculum. It is unrealistic to expect improvement from a moderate amount of tinkering.

3. Keeping children and youth in schools, to give a flattering tone to the drop-out statistics, is hardly enough. Unless a meaningful school program is developed, success will be minimal. There is little point in retaining a youngster in a school situation which dooms him to frustration and failure. If the school is to serve only as custodian, many youngsters may be served equally well away from

[1] Adapted from paper prepared by A. Harry Passow for presentation at the Governor's Conference on Education at Maui, Hawaii, on November 19, 1965.

the classrooms. The school's holding power will gain if it succeeds in capturing the pupil's involvement in recharging his own achievement potential. The charge against schools that many drop-outs are essentially "push-outs" must be disproved. Nor can we concern ourselves only with the drop-out problem. Rather we must look at the more complex and comprehensive problem of massive retardation among the culturally disadvantaged.

The plight of the disadvantaged has been adequately described in many places; what is at issue still is an understanding of the *why* of this condition. The "educational deprivation versus cultural deprivation" controversy continues; the first camp blames scholastic retardation in depressed areas on the attitudes and behavior of school personnel, while the latter attribute the large-scale underachievement to sparse childhoods which fail to equip children to fit into and adapt well to the school environment. That the culturally disadvantaged child will have difficulty in adjusting to school tasks is predictable but—why? Both of these rationales can be supported, although neither alone accounts for the extensive academic malfunctioning in this population.

4. The schools that house the culturally disadvantaged child have been depicted as having (a) the oldest, most dilapidated, and most inadequate buildings; (b) staffs of middle-class teachers, most of whom resist assignment to these "difficult" schools, have little faith in their pupils' ability to learn, and are unable to cope with pupil behavior; (c) overly large classes in crowded rooms; (d) administrators unwilling or unable to provide supervisory leadership and assistance to the staff; (e) student bodies that are racially or ethnically segregated or, at least, imbalanced; (f) meager instructional material of poor quality; and (g) aloofness from the community's life. While such a description may sound like a caricature, it is one which emerges from current descriptions.

On the other hand, it is increasingly clear that a brand-new building—staffed by professionals who have volunteered for such assignment, located or zoned in such a way as to improve racial balance, and provided with all kinds of supplementary materials and resource personnel—will certainly make some difference but will not by itself drastically alter the total educational picture. Examples multiply where such "new" staff, plant, and resources add up to failure. Conversely, strikingly exciting programs in ancient plants in slum neighborhoods succeed in educating the disadvantaged. One cannot minimize the need for better pupil-teacher

ratios, improved school facilities, better prepared and selectively screened staff, a rich supply of instructional materials, expanded personnel services, and an extended school day and year. But most important are good programs of curriculum development and teacher education.

5. A prevention program is more likely to work than a remedial one. Adequate preschool and primary programs—adequate, because they provide authentic compensatory experiences for disadvantaged children—would reduce the need for remediation and enhance the promise of sound programs. However, to be effective, a preschool program must do more than bring together a dozen or so three- and four-year-olds. It must diagnose the specific deficiencies of a particular group of children. It must build a series of sequentially ordered activities to compensate for experiential gaps. In developing compensatory preschool programs, schools must focus on curricular experiences which balance remedial experiences with developmental ones in such a way as to prepare the disadvantaged child for meeting the tasks he faces in the different, if not alien, world of the classroom.

6. Administrative arrangements *per se* are not going to bring about instructional improvements. The curriculum—content, methods, resources, learning environments—must be the focus of our planning efforts with administration and organization serving curriculum. Our planning must be aimed at developing programs which have been conceived as part of an integrated, articulated, sequential plan if they are to have the sustained impact necessary to overcome cultural deprivation. For instance, it is quite likely that even the most effective preschool program will not adequately compensate for intellectual and affective disabilities unless sustained by an educational program which continues and builds on such experience.

7. School staffs must comprehend the discontinuities which exist between the world from which the disadvantaged child comes and the essentially middle-class world of the school. Kenneth Clark, rejecting the whole notion of cultural deprivation, insists instead that school staffs must look to their own prejudices to track down the difficulty. As he puts it:

> To what extent are the contemporary social deprivation theories merely substituting notions of environmental immutability and fatalism for earlier notions of biologically determined educational unmodifiability? To what extent do these theories obscure the more basic reasons for the educational retardation of lower-status children? To what extent do they offer acceptable and desired alibis for the educational default; the fact is that these children, by and large,

do not learn because those who are charged with the responsibility for teaching them do not believe they can learn, do not expect that they can learn, and do not act toward them in ways which help them to learn (33).

Martin Deutsch, on the other hand, sees minority group and class status as hurting the lower-class child, since he enters the school situation so poorly prepared to produce what the school demands that initial failures are almost inevitable, and the school experience becomes negatively rather than positively reinforced. Deutsch sees experiential differentials as crucial, and many teachers poorly trained to understand and cope with unfamiliar cultural variations:

> School is an experience which for children in the experimental group [primarily Negro, lower-class children] is discontinuous with the values, preparation, and experience they receive from their homes and particular community; it represents society's demands that they bridge social class orientations for a few hours a day, five days a week. No catalyst is provided for this transition, and few plans have been made to facilitate the child's daily journey across the chasm (34).

The serious accusation is that the school has failed the disadvantaged child; that the attitudes of teachers and administrators and their performances have provoked widespread retardation; that the school's climate helps to alienate children, especially those from racial and ethnic minority groups and those from lower socioeconomic groups. Certainly, in some situations there is basis for these charges. If the staff does not comprehend the social-psychological dynamics of cultural deprivation, if they are unwilling or unable to diagnose the specific nature of the cognitive deficits of the particular population, if teachers fail to comprehend the significance of the emotional impact of poverty and minority group status, if they mistake severe academic retardation for mental retardation, and if, worst of all, educators perceive the disadvantaged as a stereotyped mass rather than a group of youngsters displaying a wide range of differences, then the school will get failing marks for its performance.

Evaluation and Experimentation

If the success of our efforts at facilitating the educational development of disadvantaged youngsters could be evaluated simply on the basis of the amount of enthusiasm and activity generated by those efforts, we would at once declare the majority of the programs . . . successful (35).

CERTAINLY there is no lack of activity in the field of compensatory education. Almost every community where there are disadvantaged children is claiming to have instituted some special program and some, with faith in the buckshot approach, seem to be trying every possible innovation in some situation and to some degree. The results of these widespread efforts, however, are not easy to assess.

Miriam Goldberg has analyzed the difficulties of evaluating the results of programs of compensatory education. She points to the compelling nature of the problems which must be dealt with, the lack of preplanned, integral procedures for evaluation, the unspecified nature of the population and content, and the local nature of many of the programs as limiting factors. The confusion of long- and short-term goals and the unrealistic nature of the expectations for permanent results from limited, short-term projects also constitute problems which must be dealt with in interpreting the results of many of the evaluation programs as they now exist.

In concluding her statement, Dr. Goldberg makes a plea for further planned experimentation:

> . . . The lack of specificity of input and population, the multi-service approach, the professional as well as emotional investment already committed to ongoing programs make it unlikely that changes can be made to yield the needed knowledge. It may be wiser to develop carefully designed experimental programs based on various current theoretical positions and invite the cooperation of many varied school systems. Such a procedure could obviate many of the problems which now hamper effective evaluation; they would be free of

prior commitment to any given approach on the part of the researcher but could capitalize on the varied convictions and commitments of teachers, thereby minimizing the Hawthorne Effect. They could be highly specific as to input and pupil populations, use adequate sampling procedures and appropriate measuring instruments, allow for short- and long-term assessment, build in necessary longitudinal variations and, above all, provide clarity of desired outcomes. Multiple approaches tested under a single experimental design could provide some dependable knowledge of what kinds of compensatory programs really make a difference in the development and achievement of disadvantaged children at different ages (36).

Research Programs

The plea for carefully designed research in the field of education for the disadvantaged must surely be honored. It is only by such means that it will become possible to find out what works for whom under what circumstances. To continue to invest substantial amounts of money in a multiplicity of programs without equally substantial efforts to gain the needed information as to effectiveness is foolish and futile.

No one program is likely to have the technical assistance or the resources to underwrite a complete program of evaluation, but affiliation with a nearby university or a regional research laboratory may greatly increase the ability of the sponsors of individual programs to plan and carry through a meaningful plan for assessment. Cooperative projects such as Project ABLE and the School To Employment Program (STEP) which were sponsored by the New York State Education Department also make feasible the participation of local groups at a level not otherwise possible (37).

Comprehensive Evaluation

All federally-funded projects must describe the projected means of evaluation for the proposed program and require a careful statement of objectives as well as an informed choice of means of obtaining and recording relevant data. The help of competent persons in evaluation and research is needed and provision should be made for adequate staff resources. Although less extensive than the major research designs, the individual project evaluations may be planned to yield much valuable data. With skilled help, a local group can define its objectives in relation to time, space, staff, and pupil population to be served.

Varied means of achieving such objectives can be devised with both formal and informal means used to collect the desired evidence. School achievement records, IQ test scores, attitude scales, interview schedules, sociometric tests, and anecdotal records are among the means which may be used profitably in appropriate situations. The assessment of six major aspects of the impact of Project Head Start being developed by the Division of Research and Evaluation provides a current illustration of the use of a variety of means for securing a comprehensive analysis (38).

It is clear that a major long-term goal of programs for the disadvantaged must be real and lasting gains in intellectual and academic competence. The demands of the times for technical skill and informed decision making cannot be satisfied with less than the greatest possible development of the intellectual capacity of all citizens. This is not, however, the only relevant goal at all stages of growth. It may be, in fact, that several intermediate steps involving language development, social orientation, perceptual organization, or any number of other specialized skills and abilities must be taken before significant gains in intellectual competence, as measured by ability to succeed in school-set tasks, can take place.

It is therefore appropriate, and probably necessary, that the goals at any one time may be, not academic achievement as such, but a whole series of underlying competencies which may eventually contribute to the ability to succeed in school. As evidence to support this point of view is being collected, it is important that programs for the disadvantaged be judged on the basis of the goals which are actually operating at any one time rather than on a long-range goal which may be several steps—and several years—in the future. It is only when evaluation is thus conceived that meaningful data can be collected and the functional contribution of any program be assessed.

The Task Ahead

IN PROGRAMS for the education of the disadvantaged there are scattered and meager past efforts, widespread present activity, and a vast need for future development in many areas. Without attempting to be exhaustive, a few of the most evident areas for needed special attention in the years ahead may be noted.

Adequate Theory

There seems to be no strong social-psychological theory that might explain the phenomenon of social deprivation. Sociologists restrict themselves to environmental factors while ignoring the all-important mediating personality variables. Psychologists, on the other hand, talk about personality development without relating it to societal influences. Thus, studies of social deprivation and its pathological correlates generally concentrate on independent social and psychological factors rather than on their own interaction effects.

Early Intervention Programs

There is a lack of evidence concerning the effectiveness of the early intervention programs which have become so popular in recent years. There is also no real empirical evidence to demonstrate that later retrieval is less effective. Studies to compare the effects of special treatment at the first-, third-, and sixth-grade levels of disadvantaged children meeting roughly similar criteria for educational retardation could give such evidence. Strategies for conducting this

kind of research ought to be refined and the way paved for large-scale investigations of the point-of-entry problem.

In an approach to systematized research in early intervention, Tannenbaum has proposed a laboratory preschool which would serve as a testing ground for experimental programs aimed at improving school readiness for underprivileged children. It would serve early childhood education in much the same way that medical research centers serve the field of medicine. A laboratory preschool might serve as a prototype for other aspects of program research relative to the education of the disadvantaged (39).

Non-Intellective Factors

The need for a further study of the relationship between non-intellective factors and success at school constitutes another important area of needed study. The disadvantaged child often enters the classroom having been exposed to child-rearing practices quite different from his middle-class peers. Richard M. Wolf has studied the impact of parent-young child interaction on intellectual development. He correlated intelligence with thirteen variables in the home environment. His finding of a multiple correlation of +.76 among ratings of environment is far higher than correlations generally found with such usual measures of socioeconomic status as, for example, parental occupation and education. These findings suggest the need to experiment with modification of parental expectations, their push for intellectual attainment, and the specific aid given to help the child do well in school (40).

Children with the best cognitive armament will fail at school if they drift around in a state of normlessness and see no purpose in school or in life itself. There is also the problem of bringing some order out of chaos in research on the effect of incentives on school performance. Perhaps the children of the slum will respond to operant conditioning strategies and others designed to arouse strong response especially among the underprivileged.

Most of the intervention programs concern themselves with treating cognitive deficits to the exclusion of other independent variables. It may be, therefore, that the treatment of symptoms is being overemphasized and that the treatment of etiological factors is neglected. One way of testing this hypothesis is to identify two groups of reading retardates, one from a middle-class population and the other from the lower classes. The two groups would then

be matched by pairs on profiles of cognitive deficits, using a standardized diagnostic measure. After treating the cognitive deficits of both members of each pair identically in the best possible one-to-one remedial situation, it would be possible to determine whether the two populations respond equally well to the same treatment. The result might well force educators to begin looking at non-intellective factors as well as apparent cognitive deficits.

Language Development

In spite of the current interest in the language development of disadvantaged children, there is, as yet, a lack of knowledge about the relation between the language which they spontaneously acquire and their achievement of intellectual and social equality. John, in a recent summary of research related to language development in disadvantaged children, summarizes the state of our present knowledge of the relationship between language and learning:

> . . . As yet we have no systematic knowledge of the ways in which lower-class children use language for cognitive purposes. We assume that because these children perform poorly on certain kinds of standard tests, where the language they are presented with is standard English, their ability to utilize language as a cognitive tool is similarly impaired. What this assumption fails to consider is the functional diversity to which language is put by children of disparate backgrounds. We have in the psychology of this problem no real evidence that substandard English cannot be used for complex problem-solving and accurate communication.
>
> As long as we limit ourselves to modifying substandard speech so that we may improve chances of social mobility, we deprive ourselves of a potentially rich resource—the operational linguistic wealth that the substandard speaker brings with him (41).

There are many levels of concern related to the basic problem of language development. The bi-lingualism of the Puerto Rican or Mexican child poses special problems for the teacher and much is yet to be learned about teaching standard English as a second dialect to children whose experiential background and language level are limited in their own dialect. Some of the same techniques may be used in the attempt to develop the flexibility in the use of several levels of language which is commonly lacking among lower-class children. New knowledge, new attitudes, and new materials are needed to deal with the many-sided programs of language development and use. As yet, they have not been identified and defined.

School Organization

Another area in which there is a definite need for knowledge is one in which there is no lack of activity and effort. Characteristically, school administrators respond to any new challenge by proposing organizational changes to deal with its effects. The education of the disadvantaged is no exception to the usual pattern.

The venerable concept of the neighborhood school has been challenged by a perceived need to provide ethnic and cultural integration. New administrative arrangements such as middle schools and educational parks have integration as one of their purposes. Ability grouping is seen as limiting the educational opportunities of disadvantaged children and interage groups, ungraded schools, and heterogeneous grouping within a grade are emerging.

Various plans for deploying staff have been instituted in some schools. Teaching teams, resource teachers, enrichment teachers, and reading teachers of many varieties and functions have all come into the schools which are attempting to provide compensatory education for disadvantaged children.

There is little or no evidence, however, as to the effect of these organizational measures upon the pupil they are designed to serve. Does the disadvantaged child achieve more in the self-contained classroom with very limited needs for adjustment to different adults, or is he stimulated by the variety and movement of the newer ways of using staff?

There are gaps, too, in the definition of the roles of the professionals, paraprofessionals, and aides of various kinds who are coming to work in slum schools. The guidance worker and the community coordinator may cooperate smoothly or get in each other's way. Specialists whose supposed function it is to enrich the curriculum may instead be a thorn in the flesh of the classroom teacher. Clarification of function and role definition must be achieved if the teaching team is to pull together rather than in opposite directions.

Teacher Preparation

More knowledge is needed concerning the selection and preparation of the teachers who will work in depressed area schools. As a review of present program modifications suggests, the programs which have been developed so far have been based upon very

meager knowledge and have, unfortunately, resulted in very little additional information of either a practical or theoretical nature.

Much stress is laid upon the need to staff slum schools with volunteer teachers, but there is little evidence concerning the characteristics of those who volunteer—or on what happens to them when they take the jobs for which they volunteer. The Hunter Study provided some evidence that those who took advantage of opportunities to learn more about teaching in depressed areas developed more favorable attitudes toward such teaching. Was the information they obtained the influencing factor, or was it some aspect of the personality of the student which caused him to attend the information sessions while four out of five of his fellow students did not choose to do so (42)? The Syracuse Program, in providing for selection from among those who apply, is testing a series of action-tasks as a supplement to paper-and-pencil tests and interviews. This is an attempt to measure performance rather than verbal manipulation skills and may lead to some profitable insights (43).

Another characteristic of developing programs for the preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged is the provision of direct experience in schools and community agencies. There is no doubt that such experience results in more favorable attitudes for some students, but it is equally true that it merely confirms the fears or prejudices of others. A veritable wilderness of variables confronts any attempt to discover the actual effect of any specific type of experience upon any individual prospective teacher, and yet, if the "early exposure" technique is to be used with any confidence, such information must be obtained.

The substantive content of the preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged also needs to be studied. Is the addition of a course in urban sociology and a seminar dealing with the problems of depressed areas an effective modification of program content? Should prospective teachers be enrolled in courses of teaching mathematics to disadvantaged children, or do the usual methods courses apply? What is the relation between the preservice and the in-service preparation of teachers for this especially demanding assignment? Will valid evidence support the contention that an extended period of internship and gradual induction is needed?

The work of the National NDEA Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth, supported by the U. S. Office of Education and administered by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, has an important potential for contributing to knowledge concerning the means for improving pro-

grams for teachers of the disadvantaged. The program of the institute operates on two levels.

First, through the frequent meetings of the Institute's National Steering Committee and Task Force, special attention is given to the identification and clarification of the fundamental problems and issues relevant to teaching the disadvantaged and to the preparation of teachers. As a result, the National Committee proposes to recommend substantive changes and appropriate strategies for the improvement of teacher education.

Second, through a series of interrelated projects, conferences, and other activities, opportunities are provided for educational personnel engaged in the teaching of the disadvantaged to exchange information regarding effective practices and materials, to develop their competencies as teachers, and to provide the National Committee with specific information regarding the problems and issues which constitute its continuing agenda on the preparation and retraining of teachers (44).

Certainly, nothing less than the comprehensive approach suggested as the focus of this National Institute can hope to contribute significantly to the problems involved in preparing the teachers who are responsible, in the final analysis, for the implementation of any program for the education of the children of the poor. The magnitude of the task can only be suggested by an attempt to examine the gap that exists between what needs to be known about the selection and education of teachers for the disadvantaged and what is now known and used as a basis for action and inference.

Ready or Not . . .

Yet it is perhaps not inconceivable that the education of teachers should seem to lack clear direction when the institution in which they will function is itself so subject to conflicting demands. At various times during the last fifty years, the common schools have been called upon to play their part in making democratic citizens, promoting social interaction, leading the climb to excellence, and developing creative individuals. In the 1930's there was vigorous debate concerning the role of the school. The issue is still unresolved but school people everywhere are under the strong necessity of acting in a situation which makes certain specific demands. The federal government, in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has given its support to the school as an important

agency in developing educational programs to overcome the debilitating effects of cultural deprivation.

The war on poverty is being fought in the corridors and classrooms of every slum school. There is little point in discussing school-community cooperation because the community is already *in* the school and increasingly the school is obliged to go into the community. The situation is reminiscent of the children's game of tag in which, after counting to one hundred, the child who is "it" calls out a warning, "Ready or not, here I come." The problems of the slum child have come. Ready or not, the school must act.

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